

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, may I have a response to the order currently pending from the Chair?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. I shall not take that time.

#### NORTH KOREA

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I would like to speak very briefly on two points, one involving the framework agreement between North Korea, and the other a resolution pending to allow President Li to visit the United States. It is my understanding that the occupant of the chair, Senator THOMAS, also wishes to speak briefly on the matter of President Li's visit to the United States. I would be willing to relieve him from the chair for the period of time for his statement.

If I may proceed, Mr. President, one of the issues I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues that is rather disturbing is associated with the United States and North Korea agreed-to framework on nuclear issues. There is an agreement that has been entered into by the United States directly with the Government of North Korea. As the President will recall, the framework agreement was signed on October 21 and we have so far had some four senatorial committee hearings covering various aspects of the framework agreement. The Foreign Relations Committee has addressed it. The Energy Committee has addressed it. The Armed Services Committee has addressed it, and the Intelligence Committee has addressed it.

In the agreed-to framework, the administration has stressed consistently North Korea's adherence to the terms of that agreement. But I share two specifics with my colleagues concerning recent articles that cast some doubt on North Korea's good faith.

First, North Korea is conducting vigorous military exercises at this time. In a March 6 Defense News report, it says:

North Korea is conducting its most vigorous winter military exercise in recent years, an event that the U.S. and South Korean officials here attribute, in part, to the U.S. shipments of heavy oil authorized under the October 1994 nuclear package deal with Pyongyang.

Having been in Pyongyang with my colleague, the Senator from Illinois, I think we both find this rather distressing and inconsistent.

I remind my colleagues that the story is referring to the 50,000 tons of oil that was paid for with \$4.7 million in Department of Defense emergency funds. Although not intended, the provision of heavy oil to North Korea has the perverse effect of strengthening North Korea's 1-million-man military machine. The story states:

This year's exercises are significant because of the increased air sorties and a surge

in the number of armored, mechanized and artillery corps practicing joint warfare operations.

I further point out in the March 6 Defense News the following:

Although U.S. oil is not used directly to fuel military maneuvers, the influx of heavy oil into the country has allowed North Korea to divert other types of fuel reserves from domestic to military use.

We were assured, Mr. President, by the administration that this would not happen. Well, it has happened. What is our response? Well, the United States response is to cancel our winter "team spirit" military exercises with South Korea. I find that very inconsistent. What are we following it up with? The preparation to send 100,000 tons of additional oil in October, without safeguards.

The second report is that North Korea is not fully cooperating with the International Atomic Energy Agency. The March 2 Nucleonics Week reported:

Pyongyang categorically refuses to allow the IAEA to reconstruct the history of fissile materials production at its Yongbyong complex.

The report of Nucleonics Week points out that Pyongyang's refusal to grant access could cause irreparable damage. The North Korean position is that the IAEA will have access to the inside of the reprocessing plant on or after a 5-year period. But IAEA officials report that access to the inside of the plant before then is paramount. The IAEA doesn't know right now what is going on inside the plant, if there is any plutonium separation, or if there are any materials being moved around.

The second story illustrates the problems with the agreed-to framework. We should have had a broader agreement that addressed other issues of concern—such as North Korea Army activities; should have demanded access to the two suspected wastesites, complete and total access to past, current, and future nuclear activities—something we demand from all other nations that are a party to the nuclear proliferation agreement.

We asked South Africa to come clean and they did, but the North Koreans have not. We have left the North Koreans, in the opinion of the Senator from Alaska, with too many cards in their hands.

I have sponsored two specific resolutions, one that is being taken up by the Foreign Relations Committee next week, requiring that we show progress on the framework agreement, and one that was accepted last week on the defense appropriations stating that no further funding could take place without the administration coming to Congress for approval.

#### RESOLUTION ALLOWING PRESIDENT LI TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise to discuss a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that

the President of Taiwan, Li Teng-hui, be allowed to visit the United States.

We submitted this concurrent resolution, Senate Concurrent Resolution 9, last week. We had 36 bipartisan cosponsors, some 11 or 12 Democrats, and 24 or 25 Republicans.

Specifically, the concurrent resolution calls on President Clinton to allow President Li to come to the United States on a private visit, as opposed to an official state visit. An identical concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 33, has been submitted in the House by Congressmen LANTOS, SOLOMON, and TORRICELLI.

Why should we simply let the People's Republic of China, our friends in China, dictate to us who can visit our country? The current State Department policy of saying that allowing Li to visit would upset relations with the People's Republic of China offends the Senator from Alaska. I think Taiwan has made great strides toward achieving some of the goals that we have achieved in our democracy, such as ending martial law, free and fair elections, a vocal press, and in human rights great advancements have taken place.

Taiwan is a friendly, democratic, stable, prosperous country and the 5th largest trading partner of the United States and the world's 13th, I might add. They buy twice as much from the United States as from the People's Republic of China. The largest foreign reserves per capita, and contribute to international causes. They are good international citizens.

But the United States continues to give a cold shoulder to the leader of Taiwan. That leader, I might add, is going to run in a reelection effort. It is the first time they have had free and open elections. Last May, in Hawaii, the State Department refused to allow President Li to visit overnight while his plane refueled, and they indicated they would not allow a private visit. The rationale for that was that the President was going on to Central America and his plane had to land for refueling. I think it was the worst type of hospitality evidenced by the State Department in some time. We know that the People's Republic of China is going to bellow about everything we do regarding Taiwan—United States pressures at the United Nations on human rights, World Trade Organization membership, and anything we do for Taiwan is raised as an issue by the People's Republic of China. But, in the end, they will make the same calculation about when to risk offending us on the U.S. market.

I think that the precedent exists for President Li to visit the United States. Consider for a moment, Mr. President, that we have welcomed other unofficial leaders to the United States, such as Dalai Lama, who called on Vice President GORE—over the objections of the People's Republic of China. Yasser

Arafat came to the White House ceremony; he was once considered a terrorist. Gerry Adams has been granted numerous visas over British objections.

In each case, the administration made direct choices to allow a visit to advance America's goals. Li's visit would do the same thing. United States-ROC Economic Counsel Conference will hold a meeting in Anchorage, AK. Visiting there would not be a political statement. We are almost another country, in the sense that we are a little out there in the western northern part of the hemisphere, if you will.

What they are asking for here is for Li to visit his alma mater, Cornell University in New York. They would like him to come up in the spring and give an address to the students and faculty. I call on the administration to allow these events.

I remind my colleagues, as we address the friction between Taiwan and China, that there are two organizations—one, the mainland People's Republic of China, and one in Taiwan. They meet regularly and discuss hijackings and commercial and trade activities—everything but politics. Chinese business men and women are probably the best in the world. They recognize that it is necessary that they maintain a dialog, and now we are seeing the opening up of some of the southern ports of China with direct shipment of goods originating in Taiwan. They will not have to go through Hong Kong anymore. So as we look at a stagnant relationship with Taiwan, clearly there is a dialog developing between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. It is time that we allowed President Li to visit this country.

Mr. President, that concludes my remarks. I see my friend from Illinois on the floor seeking recognition. I had the pleasure of accompanying him on a recent trip to North Korea and to China, as well. I am sure he has some observations.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

#### TAIWAN

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, let me speak briefly on both the Taiwan situation and the North Korean situation.

I am pleased to cosponsor the concurrent resolution of Senator MURKOWSKI. I commend him for his leadership on this.

We ought to maintain a good relationship, if possible, with the People's Republic of China, but they should not be permitted to veto our standing up for human rights.

Senator MURKOWSKI mentioned that when President Lee landed in Hawaii at a military base on his way to Costa Rica, he was not permitted to stay overnight. The base commander was not permitted to come out and greet him.

Is this the President of a dictatorship? We treat dictators better than we

treat the freely elected President of Taiwan. Taiwan is doing everything that we say a country should do—free press, a multiparty system, holding elections—and yet we treat them as a pariah. We treat them as they used to treat people with leprosy.

It is very interesting what happened in Germany. There were two Germanys, and we recognized both Governments. Neither Government was particularly happy that we did it, but it did not prevent the two Germanys from coming together. And that should be our attitude toward Taiwan.

I realize that right now formal recognition is not going to be in the cards for Taiwan. But, at the very least, we ought to say to the President of Taiwan, President Lee, who wants to come over to go to his school reunion at Cornell, who was not permitted to do that last time, that he should be able to come to his school reunion at Cornell.

There is also a meeting on United States-Republic of China economic relations. He would like to combine the two. Why should he not be permitted to come and attend those?

As one Senator, I think our conduct toward Taiwan has, frankly, been an embarrassment. If the People's Republic of China squeals some because we show some deference to the leadership of Taiwan, I think we just have to understand that is going to be part of the process.

#### NORTH KOREA

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, let me comment also on the North Korean situation.

When Senator MURKOWSKI and I were in North Korea in December, we landed with the first official American plane to land in North Korea since the Korean war. It is important that both the United States and North Korea live up to our agreements.

The situation in Korea is the most volatile anywhere in the world where there are American troops. We have 36,000 to 37,000 American troops just south of the border in Korea. You have about 1 million troops in total facing each other with no communication. Even in the situation with Pakistan and India, there is communication between the two Governments. There is no communication between North Korea and South Korea.

North Korea is unlike any other government on the face of the Earth right now. It is a very tightly controlled dictatorship. The radio stations only have one station. The television stations only have one station. It is like Albania must have been back in the old days of communism.

I think it is important that the United States assist—while making clear to South Korea that we are going to be loyal to our friends there—in communication between the two countries.

Thanks to President Carter, a meeting had been set up between the Presi-

dent of South Korea and Kim Il-song, the leader of North Korea. Then he died fairly suddenly back in July of last year, and that did not happen.

Senator MURKOWSKI and I are working on the possibility of getting some North Korean and South Korean Parliamentarians together, some kind of minimal contact, so that there is some understanding between the two sides, so that what happens on the other side in both cases is not viewed with paranoia.

I would add, I think it is extremely important that North Korea permit South Korea to build the nuclear plants that we talked about. That was the understanding in the agreement that we had with North Korea and they should not back down on that agreement.

I hope we can be of some assistance to North Korea, which feels very isolated now. It is isolated. It has to make this transition from an old-fashioned, extremely monolithic communism to at least a more moderate communism, if their such a phrase, as in China and Vietnam. But I think we can play a constructive role there, and I hope we will.

#### TAX CUTS

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I see my colleague from Wisconsin about to take the floor. I see he has a cartoon about tax cuts. If he is going to speak about tax cuts, I want him to know I agree with him 100 percent. If there is anything irrational—and he will disagree with my next statement—if there is any illustration that shows why we need a balanced budget amendment, we would not be considering tax cuts right now in both political parties. If we had a balanced budget amendment, we would be focusing on balancing the budget.

But I agree 100 percent with my colleague that this is not the time to be moving in the direction of tax cuts.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Under the previous order, the Senator is recognized to speak for up to 15 minutes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I thank the Chair.

#### TAX CUT FRENZY

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I certainly thank the senior Senator from Illinois for noticing the cartoon and for being one of the first people in this body to come to me and say that we do need to prevent this tax cut frenzy if we are going to be serious about balancing the Federal budget.

I think, Mr. President, now is the time to put the tax cut proposals out of their misery. Let us do it early on so the American people know that there is something real to all this rhetoric in